2; Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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have lived in the country of the Kitêto Masai, since they are stated to have been the precursors of the Masai in this part of the world.

I was unable to elicit any folk-tales from the *Aramanik*, who say that they know no stories or legends except those they have learned from the Masai. It is possible that further efforts in this direction might meet with better success. The *Aramanik* are not as friendly or as ready to discuss their own affairs as are the cheerful, happy-go-lucky *Mósiro*.

Many Masai superstitions and superstitious practices are to be found among the Dorobo. There are, however, certain customs and observances of a superstitious nature practised only by the Dorobo. Of the following three examples, the last two given are in this category.

The *Mósiro* will not kill a python. They say it is a hunter of meat, as are they themselves. Furthermore, if it be killed, the ground where it dies and where its blood is split is ever afterwards fatal to cattle grazing there.[1] No explanation is given of this, and it would seem worthy of note that the Dorobo are exceptionally quick and skilful killers of all other snakes.

When following a native path or a road, if a Dorobo comes to the place where the track of a snake crosses the path, he will never step over it without first kicking up the sand or earth in order to break the continuity of the snake's track. This is done in order to avert evil, and is stated to be the only efficacious way of ensuring that the snake in question will not eventually kill the man who has crossed its path.[2]

If a Dorobo has been robbed and if the thief cannot be found, the following procedure is sometimes resorted to. The man who has suffered the loss heats his sword in the fire until it is red and then, plunging it into the earth, he says: "The thief shall die to-morrow." This is regarded as a very bad practice and is seldom indulged in, as the injured party, no matter how much he may have lost, knows that he will become extremely unpopular as a result of his action.

It seems likely that in a few years' time there will be no *Balañga* and no *Kinyalañgat* Dorobo. As I have said elsewhere, it is now almost impossible to find *Balañga* or *Kinya-*

[1] See Hollis: *The Nandi*, p. 80.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

623 [587] that continual disobedience is punished by expulsion from the tribe. They described their office in the following terms :—

Ke'ruoch ilgalek si kuich che mlyach ak che
We-take-counsel the-matters that we-may-get which-are good and which-are

[539] yuch, si ko-kas pûk tukul. Ingoonio chiit'
bad that they-may-understand (-obey) the-people all. If-he-refuses the-man

ake tukul, ke-oon, si kwa emet ake.
other any, we-expel (-him) that he-may-go the-country other.

[" We take counsel that we may find what is good, and leave what is bad, that all men may obey. If any refuse, he is driven out of our country."]

IV.—Religious Beliefs, Magic, and Medicine.

Religion.

● 771 The religious beliefs of the Dorôbo are even vaguer than those of the Nandi.
776 They believe in a god Aaista (N.), who is the sun and masculine, and who has a
[782] sister Arawa* (N.), the moon.[1] No offerings are made to either, but the men pray to both before going on a hunt. The prayers seem to have one form :—

Aaie,* ipiiy'-ech omdit.
God, fill-us-with the-food.

[539] or,

Arawa,* ipiiy'-ech omdit.
Moon, fill-us-with the-food.

[785] They believe also in ghosts and spirits (*oiindet*, pl. *oiik*, N.) which are good and
[782] bad. Prayers are addressed to the good oiik (*oiik che mlyach*) to obtain food and health, *e.g.* :—

Oiik, ipiiy'-ech omdit.
The-spirits, fill-us-with the-food.

[539] Oiik, ipiiy'-ech sapot.
The-spirits, fill-us-with the-health.

[782] Libations of honey and water (*lagomek*)[2] and of honey-wine (*kipkelsik*, N.) are offered to the good oiik, in order to obtain food and health. These libations are made from gourds (*komda*), and while they are poured out, the formula,

[539] Ipiiy'-ech omdit si kiipiiye sapot.
Fill-us-with the-food that we-be-filled-with health,

is pronounced.

[171] [1] I have not come across this particular relationship before in the Nilo-Hamitic group; though other tribes of this group hold that the sun and moon are related, or are husband and wife (the latter Maasai and Nandi). (See Beech, *The Suk*, for the ideas of the Suk, Enjemusi, Turkana, etc.)

[2] The Nandi offer milk.

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681 The principle of compensation enters into the legal consequences of offences against the individual, as well as the principle that in certain cases where the injury is grave the injured party may get satisfaction by killing the offender. Of course when he does this, he has to pay for his satisfaction, but the need for satisfaction may override the knowledge that it must be paid for; and the fact that public opinion recognises a man's right to kill one who offends against him prevents any display of public resentment when he exercises his right. On the other hand, some of the traditional penalties seem to be both excessive and impracticable, even when the need for satisfaction is taken into account. When we are told, for instance, that a man may kill a man who hunts without permission on his land, but that if he does so he must pay compensation, we may be inclined to wonder how such a rule could remain in existence. The explanation is, I believe, that the apparently excessive punishment and the consequent liability to pay compensation act as a deterrent in two directions: the offender may be restrained from trespassing and doing what to his people, from the nature of their life and environment, cannot be anything but economically bad; and the owner may be made to pause before he takes a man's life, even if the offence is considered so serious that by customary law he is entitled to get satisfaction for it. The Dorobo is no fool; he could not have survived if he was. And the African, when engaged in his own affairs, is just as capable as anyone else of restraining his actions.

8. Religion and Magic

a) Belief and Practice

791 Briefly, the basic principles of Dorobo religion are these: There is a God, who is the sun and is behind everything, but beyond the reach of men, who must therefore approach him through intermediaries, the chief of which are the spirits of the dead, which having once been people are still able to maintain contact with the living. If they are offended, catastrophe comes to the living. By means of various observances and ritual practices men manage to keep on the right side of the Unseen World and to maintain the spiritual and material welfare of both horde and individual.

796 "There is one whom we call *Asista*, and he it is who lives above; he is the sun which we see in the sky, and we know no other name for him". Thus did an old Dorobo describe what he understood when he thought of *Asista*, the word which means both "sun" and "god", yet does not imply that the Dorobo are sun-worshippers. Some say that *Arusa*, the moon, is his sister; others, that *Arusa* is his mother; and he appears to have no father. People make no offerings to *Asista* or *Arusa*, but pray to them for help: *Kipendi samak si kesahas hiilencin Asista, Asista, ipiiyec omdit, ngut Asis, ipiiyec kumik, ngut Asis, ipiiyec panyek*, "When we go to the forest to hunt we say to *Asista*, '*Asis*, fill us with food', or '*Asis*, fill us with honey', or '*Asis*, fill us with meat'." Similar words are spoken to *Arusa Arusa, ipiiyec omdit*, etc.

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a clear, windless sky. About 10 o'clock a curious whistling noise began to come from a certain part of the forest, and continued, on the same note, and without a break for several hours. It was certainly no human or machine-made noise, and the Dorobo professed complete ignorance of it. A Nandi who had lived there before the Nandi War told me afterwards that it was an evil spirit whistling in the forest, "for we used to hear them whistling to each other like that in the forest when I was a child".

Between people and the things on which they depend for their existence both spiritual and material there is a connexion which is best expressed in terms of a ritual relationship. Things have a ritual value for people, and people themselves have a ritual status which is a relationship with their surroundings that can be altered for better or for worse according to the way in which they respect the ritual value of the things around them. Religion and magic form the procedure which protects these ritual values and status, while politics organization is, in a sense, no more than an effort to maintain the ritual status of the horde in spite of the tendency of its members to injure their own ritual status and in consequence that of the horde also.

Certain things that a person does, whether voluntarily or involuntarily, cause deterioration of ritual status; but the original status may be recovered by the performance of certain ritual actions which may involve some personal effort or sacrifice. Examples of acts which cause loss of ritual status, and the means taken to restore it, are: (1) A girl who bears a child before marriage must have the undigested grass (*eiyat*) from the stomach of a goat rubbed over her face, neck, and breasts, and must then wash it off. (2) After a woman has given birth, she is in a condition of much reduced ritual status, and her husband must rub goat's fat and *eiyat* over her face, breasts, and belly. (3) A man who has killed a Dorobo must have goat's fat rubbed all over him. (4) One who has killed an enemy must have stripes of white earth painted on his face. In all these cases the people have done something which causes loss of ritual status, making them ritually unclean (*usan* or *somis*) and so a source of danger to others till they have been purified. The potential danger is removed by means of something which has a ritual value. Moreover, an essential element in the cleansing process is sacrifice, that is, the use of the material must either involve giving up something which is valued, or it must require some effort or even risk to get hold of. The *eiyat* or fat must be from a domestic animal: if the person concerned has one, he must use it; if he has none, then he must get one, and without delay, which for a Dorobo usually meant that he had to steal it, and thus risk getting killed while doing so. Therefore there is an act of faith in these magico-religious performances, and people believe so firmly in the efficacy of what they do that they are prepared to risk danger in order to get the necessary materials. The use of white earth may entail no more than a journey to get it, but that still means a personal effort on somebody's part. Materials which are used for the restoration of ritual status, and in consequence have a special ritual value, include: the flesh of goats, which is eaten when twins are born, and in cases of incest; *eiyat*, the undigested grass from the stomach of a ruminant (a sheep

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A comet is a sign of coming famine, not merely for the person who sees it, but for everybody.

This short statement may not seem to imply a very great use of magical practices. Nevertheless it is clear from the general trend of knowledge of the Dorobo that the important parts of their life are helped and controlled by magic. The recovery of ritual status after child-birth and after the birth of twins is achieved by magical means; the spirit-name given to a child is intended to link it, in a way that can quite properly be called magical, with the spirit-world, so that it starts life on good terms with those powerful and capricious beings; the whole idea of circumcision (even if it is borrowed) is that of the transition by means of a magico-religious performance from the state of boyhood to that of manhood; these and other observances and avoidances are all magic, and are done because people believe that by doing them they will be enabled to go on existing.

b) Analysis of Beliefs

Ritual Values. Things which have ritual value fall into three categories: (1) things which provide sustenance, or are closely connected with such things; (2) things of the spirit world; (3) things used to restore ritual status:

(1) Honey is sacred, like milk to the Nandi; and in addition to the taboo on eating honey and fruit on the same day, trees, flowering plants, and grass have ritual value because they are all closely connected with the provision of honey: trees, because bees live in them; flowers, because bees get honey from them; and grass, because the flowers and trees may be damaged if it is burned. The last notion means that unlike the pastoral tribes, the Dorobo do not burn grass near forest.

(2) The spirits are offered honey and honey-wine, which thereby acquire an additional value in that their use is directed to both the dead and the living.

(3) Things used for the recovery of damaged ritual status include goats and sheep, and certain of their products, i. e. *eiyat*, and fat, as well as 'butter' or *muait ap tangina* from cows. All these come from sources which formerly were hardly possessed at all by most Dorobo, and even to-day only on a small scale. Honey-wine is used a good deal, as well as white earth.

Each period of life has what might be called a standard ritual status, which is changed to a different standard on circumcision, when a boy becomes a man and a girl a woman, with the right to marry and produce children. The ritual status of normal adults is altered under certain conditions: (1) a man setting out to hunt is not in the same ritual state as when he is staying quietly at home, and he must not have sexual intercourse at such a time, i. e. just before he starts or, should he have an opportunity, while away; (2) a person sick of an illness has a status different from that of other people; (3) touching a corpse causes deterioration of ritual status; (4) the breaking of a taboo affects ritual status; (5) women suffer deterioration of ritual status through the birth of a child before marriage, the birth of twins, and even, to a lesser extent, normal birth. In all cases, the status must be restored by a ritual performance.

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Maintenance of ritual relations with the spirits is effected by the recognized offerings made to them; and with 'nature', on which the food supply depends, by other means (see below).

The World Order. In the myths related at the beginning of § 5, the thunder plays an important part, and is even portrayed as a man. One might almost assume from this that he was believed to be an earth-dweller who began a second life in the sky as the thunder-god who controls the rain, for the notions of rain, mist, and thunder are all interwoven, and the rainbow is "the arm of *Ilet* that draws water for him". These myths reflect the Dorobo attitude of the people to their surroundings. One of the chief features of the forest is heavy rain and frequent mist, and it would be surprising if we did not find among them the conception of some sort of rain-being who brought mist. Again, since rain is plentiful and droughts rare, the rainmaker is not needed, and although the lowest known rainfall, 28 inches in 1933 at a place two miles from the edge of the forest (and probably a little higher in the forest), would indeed constitute a drought year elsewhere, in the absence of both crops and cattle an occasional low rainfall does not matter so long as there is enough to make the plants flower. Even a heavy rainfall of 70 inches or over does no more than cause temporary inconvenience where there are no crops to be damaged and the slopes prevent flooding. The Tindiret forest is, in fact, an ideal place for hunters to live in. However prolonged the dry season, the conditions for wild life are better there than in the open plains below, and low rainfall has never yet prevented a supply of game to hunt or trap. Whether the people are able to kill enough game to ensure a supply of food is another matter, and the inter-relation is not so much that between man and nature in general, but between man and the animals. Man's wrong-doing is thought to produce either a failure of the supply of animals, or his inability to kill or catch what is there in abundance.

Social Values. Things which are important to man because they are indispensable to him have what is called a social value as well as a ritual value, because between man and them there is created a relationship which man must maintain if he is not to suffer. The food supply of a hunting people is got from day to day and depends on the skill of the hunter. It is uncertain, because on any given day the hunter may not find game, or having found it may not kill. But precarious as such a life might seem, there is no evidence that in the past there was often any great scarcity from either of these two causes. The old men say, in fact, that whereas food is scarce under present-day conditions, in the old days when hunting was not restricted it was, if not always abundant, at least enough. Such a statement is not, I think, merely an exaggerated memory of better days, the outcome of a longing to get back to the forest, but it explains in part the otherwise remarkable scarcity of hunting magic and ritual procedure. Some hunting magic there certainly was, and fear and ignorance prevent free talk about it; but it is clear that when the food supply throughout the centuries is found adequate,

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A general statement made by one elder was that evil spirits cause illness, and good spirits cure it, which in the light of the total of what we know of Dorobo beliefs is more or less a reasonable summary, even though the good spirits can also bring illness. But the fact is that the good spirits are believed to be able to do both good and evil, and that the commission of public delicts reacts on them, so that, in the words of a Dorobo elder, "such things are not done, because they are bad, for the spirits do not like them".

It will be noticed that there is a good deal of similarity between Dorobo and Nandi religion [1], and there can be little doubt that much, though not all of it, has been borrowed from the Nandi along with other culture elements. It is, I think, necessary to mention this, in case anyone should be tempted to find 'parallels' which in reality do not exist. Dorobo religious beliefs are mainly not a parallel growth, but directly borrowed, and the resemblance to those of the Nandi will therefore be very strong both in general and in detail.

[1] As described e. g. in my booklet "The Nandi". (Peoples of Kenya Series.) Nairobi 1954.

/68 cont'd/

Succession is patrilineal and marriage patrilocal. Polygyny is practised. The lineage is a functional continuum, including ancestral spirits as active members while they are still remembered by the persons responsible (so to speak) for keeping them alive by acts of memory and communion, the continuum being of the perpetually successive rather than of the periodically recurrent type, that is to say, a boy is his father's second self rather than his grandfather or great-grandfather born again.

Initiation includes a circumcision rite for boys and a pre-marital rite of clitoridectomy for girls. Age-grading is based on male initiation. There are no generation-ages except in so far as the Dorobo imitated or joined in the ituika of the Kikuyu and the eunoto of the Masai. The word they use for the handing-over ceremony is eunotwet. Alternating ages or generations are distinguished as onet ap-tai (the right hand) and onet ap-katap (the left hand). When the Kikuyu system is referred to Mwangi is the former and Maina the latter, but the expressions were probably used originally of the Masai right-hand and left-hand circumcision groups.

There are no indigenous chiefs, the judiciary and legislature being a council of elders. Such an elder is called kiruogindet (pl. kiruogik). A kiruogindet has much the same function as a Kikuyu muthamaki. There is no laibon but formerly the Dorobo owed allegiance to the laibon of the Masai.

They recognize one Supreme Being, called Tururit (compare the Suk Tororut). There appears to be no cult of so-called Sun Worship. The sacred trees, used for prayers to Tururit, are, for rain the bamboo (a solitary clump), for honey the mukeu, and, in connection with circumcision ceremonies, the muthai and the mutamaiyu.

78. Little or nothing is known of the relationship of the Dorobo of Southern Kikuyu with other Dorobo sections. The "Dorobo Committee" called them the Kikuyu Escarpment group, and remarked that they were first found in the Aberdares but left there and went to the Masai Reserve, whence they were ejected. At the time the Committee sat this group was living as forest squatters in the

D 197 /15 cont./ the El asiti also have their own idiom, which will be briefly discussed at a later place.

M 197 802 184 D 197 802 Corresponding to the uniformity in language, the number words are the same among the Masai and Wakuafi, whereas the Asá and El asiti have their own words for only a few numbers, but in general always make use of the ones used by the other two branches. One finds a complete correspondence for all three branches in their religious view, and the manner of circumcision customary among both sexes. The peculiar circumcision of the boys is practiced by no

D M 771 304 619 [197] other people at all, with the exception of one lineage of the Tatoga, closely related to the Masai people. In birth and death, too, all three have the same customs, while in the rest of their customs one finds only unessential differences which are based solely on the difference in their external way of life. The most striking proof for

D M 174 [84] [96] the three branches' belonging together, however, lies in their descent.

The people as a whole are divided into three large tribes, the El aiser, the El mulelyan, and the El meŋgana, each of which is

D M 614 613 made up of a number of lineages, and every Asá, as well as every Ol kuafi and Ol mamasi, is a representative of one of these lineages.

If we now concern ourselves further with the ethnography of the Masai in particular, which is at the same time that of the Wakuafi,

D M 128 we are thereby including the ethnographic traits of the entire peoples the stressing of individual differences that have developed among the Wandorobo in the course of time and under the influence of changed conditions will be reserved for the third part.

/16/ Second Part

I.

000 Tribes, lineages, sublineages. -- The En gidon lineage. -- The chiefs his rule and policy, magic medicines, genealogical tree, village, ceremonies, foods. -- The sorcerers. -- The El kiborõn lineage. -- The rainmakers.

M 614 613 Every tribe (eŋ giachomi) is divided, as has already been mentioned, into a number of lineages (ol gelata, el gelat). Among these, in turn, one distinguishes principal lineages (ol gelata kitok)

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805 192 Today is called legin or legilia, tomorrow lepe or lebe, yesterday areach; like the Masai, they have but one word for the day before yesterday and the day after tomorrow, namely, milek; the next day is called to samag, the one then following to hag; for the days after that the Masai words are used.

XIV.

000 Religion. -- Prayer. -- Supplication feasts. -- Amulets. -- Sorcery. -- Evil eye.

771 171 796 [821] The religious views of the Wandorobo are identical with those that we have become acquainted with among the Masai,[1] except that they do not call God 'Ng ai, but Uɛd. In songs God is also frequently called the black God, Uɛd kabiassa; on the other hand designations analogous to the Masai expressions for clouds and the redness of the sky are not found here; the former are called adja kabaka, the latter adja kahoma. Of the constellations they know the ones that the Masai also know, and designate them with the same names. They have no pictorial representations of Uɛd, for the same reasons as 782 the Masai. Everyone prays, married people and children at home, the dobonog along the way, if they are afflicted by trouble or illness; in everyday life the dobonog do not pray. The woman prays every morning while making the fire; when her husband and the children see this, they often place themselves beside her and also say a prayer. This always contains only a supplication, never any thanks. A supplication /259/ for protection runs: Uɛd sigima gemischin; for children, Uɛd nge hawa; for wives, Uɛd nge mai; for meat, Uɛd nge aga; for honey, Uɛd nge agung; for food, Uɛd nge e haiug; for health if 775 one is sick, Uɛd adudere an. They think about the fate of the soul -- [171] in contrast to the Masai -- only very rarely, even the old people. The author met only a few aged Wandorobo who were able to make statements about this. These coincided with the reports of the Masai.

1, [For information on the religion of the Masai, see FL12 Masai, 18: Merker, category 116, pp. 268-279--Analyst]